

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 2148

E.O 11652: GDS
TAGS: RO SHUM EEWT OREP (VANIK, CHARLES A.) OVIP (CEAUSESCU,
NICOLAE)
SUBJ: CODEL VANIK: MARCH 31 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT
CEAUSESCU

SUMMARY: IN SPIRITED NINETY-MINUTE EXCHANGE WITH ROMANIAN
PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU MARCH 31, CONGRESSMAN CHARLES VANIK
(D-OHIO) DISCUSSED TRADE RELATIONS AND MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS.

MIDDLE EAST DISCUSSION IS SUBJECT OF SEPTTEL. FOREIGN MINISTER
STEFAN ANDREI AND THE AMBASSADOR WERE PRESENT FOR THE MEETING.
END SUMMARY.

1. VANIK SAID HE HOPED CEAUSESCU'S APRIL 12-17 VISIT WOULD
RAISE BILATERAL RELATIONS TO NEW HIGH OF IMPORTANCE. CEAUSESCU
HAD EXTENDED HIMSELF OVER THE YEARS IN PURSUIT OF PEACEFUL
SOLUTIONS TO CRITICAL INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS IN A ROLE WHICH
SET THE STAGE FOR HISTORIC MEETING BETWEEN TWO LEADERS FROM
THE EAST AND THE WEST.

2. CEAUSESCU SAID HE LOOKED FORWARD TO DIALOGUE WITH PRESIDENT
CARTER AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION. NOTING THE
TEN-FOLD RISE IN OUR ECONOMIC EXCHANGES OVER THE PAST EIGHT
YEARS, CEAUSESCU SAID BILATERAL RELATIONS WERE VERY GOOD.
WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S HELP AND ACTIVE SUPPORT FROM CONGRESS,
U.S. AND ROMANIA COULD EXCEED BILLION DOLLAR BILATERAL TARGET
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FOR 1980. WHAT WAS REQUIRED FROM U.S., A COUNTRY WHICH TOOK
PRIDE IN ITS LEADERSHIP IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, WAS MORE "HUMANI-
TARIAN AND DEMOCRATIC APPROACH" TO TRADE LEADING TO FREER RE-
LATIONSHIP BETWEEN U.S. AND ROMANIAN FIRMS.

3. VANIK SAID 1978 WAS CAMPAIGN YEAR AND 1979 WOULD PROVIDE
BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO INSTITUTE DIFFERENT REVIEW PROCESS FOR

ROMANIA'S MFN RENEWAL, LIMITING REVIEW PROCESS TO COMMITTEES RATHER THAN FULL CONGRESS. THIS WOULD FAVOR LONGER-TERM ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS WHICH ARE SO IMPORTANT TO FUTURE GROWTH IN U.S.-ROMANIAN TRADE.

4. CEAUSESCU SAID JOKINGLY HE DID NOT INTERFERE IN U.S. INTERNAL AFFAIRS BUT HAD TO OBSERVE THAT IF 1978 PRESENTED PROBLEM OF ELECTIONS, 1979 WOULD MEAN NEW CONGRESSMEN AND 1980 A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR. EACH COULD BE CLAIMED TO HAVE DISADVANTAGES FOR EXTENDED MFN, SO 1978 MIGHT BE THE BEST TIME. VANIK MAINTAINED THAT MATTER COULD BE DEALT WITH MORE EFFECTIVELY IN 1979. CEAUSESCU SAID HE WOULD ASK PRESIDENT CARTER TO ASSURE LONGER-TERM BASIS FOR MFN.

5. HE ALSO HOPED TO EXCHANGE VIEWS, CEAUSESCU CONTINUED, ON THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OFFICIAL PROCEDURES IN THE UNITED STATES ON THE ONE HAND AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ON THE OTHER. THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF GOOD IN BOTH SYSTEMS AND HE FELT A MIDDLE WAY MIGHT BE THE BEST ANSWER. PERHAPS SOME OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAD TOO MUCH STABILITY, AND IT APPEARED THAT SOME OF THE U.S. PROBLEMS SPANG FROM THE FACT THAT THE REGIME HAD TOO LITTLE OR TOO SHORT A PERIOD OF STABILITY. VANIK SAID THAT SOME OF THE LACK OF STABILITY RESULTED FROM THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE ROLE OF THE CONGRESS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, PARTICULARLY THOSE DEALING WITH COMMERCE AND AID. THIS HAD BEEN HEIGHTENED IN THE AFTERMATH OF VIET-NAM AND WATERGATE, BUT THE CONGRESS WAS MAKING A STRONG EFFORT TO MEASURE UP

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TO ITS NEW RESPONSIBILITIES. VANIK SAID THAT PRESIDENT CARTER KNEW THAT HE WAS A FRIEND OF ROMANIA; IN FACT SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES CALLED HIM THE CONGRESSMAN FROM ROMANIA. CEAUSESCU SAID THAT "WE WOULD WELCOME SUCH AN IMPORTANT REPRESENTATION."

6. VANIK SAID WE WISHED TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTIONS OF EMIGRATION AND NATIONALIZATION TO THE BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP. IF THESE PROBLEMS ARE RECONCILED, THIS WOULD MAKE HIS EFFORTS TO FIND A LONGER-TERM SOLUTION TO THE MFN QUESTION EASIER. VANIK SAID HE ALSO WISHED TO INDICATE THAT IN THE UNITED STATES, WHICH IS AN OPEN SOCIETY, THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT GUARANTEE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DEMONSTRATIONS SUCH AS THOSE OF SOME ELEMENTS OF THE HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY AGAINST THE CEAUSESCU VISIT. HOWEVER THIS SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED SERIOUS AND SHOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH THE QUALITY OF THE PRESIDENT'S RECEPTION. THE HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN DEMONSTRATORS WOULD SEEK TO DRAW PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THEMSELVES, BUT THIS WAS NOTHING THAT SHOULD DISTRACT FROM THE HIGH PURPOSE OF THE ROMANIAN PRESIDENT'S VISIT. PRESIDENT CARTER FACED A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT PROBLEMS IN THE INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC AREAS, THE CONGRESSMAN WENT ON. AS A MAN OF DEEP MORAL CONVICTION, HUMANE CONCERN AND PURPOSE,

HE WOULD BENEFIT FROM THE KIND OF ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT
HE COULD RECEIVE FROM A LEADER SUCH AS PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU.

8. RESPONDING TO VANIK'S REMARKS ON EMIGRATION, CEAUSESCU
SAID ROMANIA DOES NOT HAVE ANY PROBLEM ON EMIGRATION AND FAMILY
REUNIFICATION CASES, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THOSE INVOLVING
SPECIALISTS WHICH THE COUNTRY NEEDED FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT. HE
SAID JOKINGLY THAT HE WAS CONSIDERING GIVING EVEN MORE SUPPORT
TO EMIGRATION BECAUSE THIS WOULD CREATE A LARGER ROMANIAN NATION-
ALITY COMMUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES.

9. CONCERNING THE PROBLEM OF EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL, CEAUSESCU
SAID THAT IT WAS NONEXISTENT; ALLWHO WISHED TO LEAVE WOULD
BE ABLE TO DO SO. ALL APPLICATIONS ARE APPROVED FOR THOSE WHO
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WISH TO LEAVE EXCEPT FOR A FEW SPECIALISTS. PRESENTLY IN
ISRAEL TWENTY PERCENT OF THE POPULATION IS FROM ROMANIA, AND
THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL HAS A PROBLEM BECAUSE THE ROMANIAN
NATIONALITY COMMUNITY THERE CLAIM PTHAT IT DOES NOT HAVE A SU-
FICIENTLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN ISRAELI AFFAIRS. OF THE
TWO DELEGATIONS FROM ISRAEL WHO CALLED ON HIM RECENTLY FROM
THE LABOR AND SOCIALIST PARTIES, EACH HAD ONE MEMBER OF
ROMANIAN EXTRACTION, AND EACH CLAIMED THAT THEY DID NOT GET ENOUGH

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QFTENTION WITHIN ISRAEL.

10. CEAUSESCU SAID THE PROBLEM OF GERMAN EMIGRATION WAS
CONDITIONED BY THE FACT THAT LIVING CONDITIONS AND IN-

COME ARE HIGHER IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY THAN IN ROMANIA AND THERE WAS A FEELING THAT THERE WERE GREATER ADVANTAGES THERE. HOWEVER, THE NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS TO EMIGRATE TO THE FRG GROWS SMALLER AND SMALLER, AND ROMANIA HAD REACHED AN

AGREEMENT WITH WEST GERMANY NOT TO CREATE A PROBLEM OUT OF THIS SITUATION. (CEAULESCU NOTED THERE WERE PRACTICALLY NO CASES OF ETHNIC HUNGARIANS WHO WISHED TO EMIGRATE FROM ROMANIA TO HUNGARY AND ALL WHICH WERE PRESENTED WERE APPROVED.) VANIK SAID HE HAD NOTED THE HIGH LEVEL OF GERMAN EMIGRATION AND REITERATED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LEVEL IN THE DIRECTION OF THE UNITED STATES REMAINING CONSTANT AND EVEN SHOWING SOME SMALL INCREASE. SUCH A SITUATION WOULD CREATE A CLIMATE FOR OPEN-ENDED TRADE RELATIONS OF LONGER DURATION. ON ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT EMIGRATION CASES THAT COME TO CONGRESSIONAL ATTENTION, VANIK SAID HE HOPED HE COULD DEAL WITH THESE THROUGH THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN BUCHAREST.

11. CEAULESCU SAID HE WISHED TO POINT OUT THAT THERE WAS NO MAJOR HUNGARIAN PROBLEM IN ROMANIA. HE REALIZED THAT FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI HAD DISCUSSED THIS ISSUE WITH VANIK AND WOULD NOT GO INTO DETAIL. HOWEVER ROMANIA HAD JUST CONCLUDED MEETINGS OF THE VARIOUS NATIONALITY COUNCILS. ALL CONFIDENTIAL

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OF THE SPEECHES WERE PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS, AND IT WAS CLEAR THERE IS NO MAJOR PROBLEM. CEAULESCU SAID THERE ARE LOCAL PROBLEMS INVOLVING ROMANIA'S MINORITIES BUT THESE ARE BEING DEBATED AND SOLVED DEMOCRATICALLY. IT WAS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT DURING THE RECENT COUNCIL MEETINGS THE ETHNIC HUNGARIANS TOTALLY REJECTED ANY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN THEIR LIVES IN ROMANIA. ON THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE U.S., CEAULESCU SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES, BUT IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT ROMANIA ALSO HAD DEMONSTRATIONS AND THAT CERTAIN DEMONSTRATIONS WERE PERMITTED, BUT LAST YEAR THERE WAS SERIOUS TROUBLE AT THE EGYPTIAN EMBASSY WHEN THE DEMONSTRATIONS CLEARLY GOT OUT OF HAND. "WE HAVE LARGE FOREIGN POPULATIONS HERE INCLUDING 12,000 FOREIGN STUDENTS AND WHILE WE BELIEVE THEY SHOULD ENJOY FREEDOM IN OUR CITIES, WE DO NOT LET THEM INTERFERE IN ANY WAY WITH OUR RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES." VANIK SAID HE HAD PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED THE ETHNIC HUNGARIAN DEMONSTRATORS WHO OBJECTED TO HIS EFFORTS WHICH WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN ENSURING THE RETURN OF THE CROWN OF ST. STEPHAN TO HUNGARY.

12. CEAULESCU SAID HE WAS CERTAIN THAT PRESIDENT CARTER AND HE WOULD DISCUSS SEVERAL COMPLEX MATTERS IN THE INTERNATIONAL FIELD, MOST OF WHICH APPEAR TO BE WORSENING. HE SAW NEED TO GIVE PRIORITY TO DISCUSSION OF EUROPEAN PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE OF THE BELGRADE CSCE CONFERENCE. CEAULESCU SAID HE

REALIZED THAT SOME PERSONS IN THE U.S. FELT IT WAS A KIND OF SUCCESS, BUT ONE MORE SUCCESS OF THAT KIND AND THERE WOULD BE SERIOUS TROUBLE IN EUROPE. VANIK SAID HE APRECIATED THE FORTHRIGHTNESS OF THAT STATEMENT.

13. TURNING TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S IMPORTANT ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS, PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU SAID HE FELT THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE CONGRESS PROVIDED MORE SUPPORT TO THE PRESIDENT, CONFIDENTIAL

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ESPECIALLY ON SUCH CRITIRSL ISSUES AS THE MIDDLE EAST. HE HOPED THAT THE CONGRESS WOULD CONSIDER REALITIES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD NOT ONLY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE UNITED STATES. VANIK SAID THAT PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU WOULD HAVE AN OP-PORTUNITY TO SPEAK VERY FRANKLY AND EXPRESS HIS VIEWS DURING MEETINGS WITH THE CONGRESS THAT HE WOULD HAVE IN WASHINGTON.

14. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU SAID HE WAS VERY HAPPY TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET AND GET TO KNOW PRESIDENT CARTER. HE HAD HEARD SO MUCH OF HIS HIGH PRINCIPLES, AND HE HOPED THAT THE TWO OF THEM COULD ESTABLISH A BASIS FOR GOOD COOPERATION ON ALL MATTERS WITH THE GOAL OF LASTING PEACE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, MINDFUL OF THE NEED FOR MUTUAL RESPECT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS. VANIK SAID THAT HE CONSIDERED THE CARTER/CEAUSESCU MEETING AN IMPORTANT DIALOGUE BETWEEN LEADERS OF THE EAST AND WEST WHICH WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO THE WHOLE WORLD.

15. FRONT-PAGE APRIL 1 SCINTEIA REPORT ON MEETING MAKES CLEAR CEAUSESCU VISIT PROVIDED POLICY CONTEXT FOR TALK IN GOR EYES. "IT WAS NOTED WITH SATISFACTION" THAT THERE IS "POSITIVE EVOLUTION" IN RELATIONS, "AS EVIDENCED BY CERTAIN LARGE POSSIBILITIP FOR EXPANDING AND DIVERSIFYING COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES AND ROMANIAN-AMERICAN ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION." GUEST STRESSED THAT "POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CIRCLES AND AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION" ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO VISIT OF PRSIDENT AND MRS. ("COMRADE") CEAUSESCU. CEAUSESCU STRESSED IMPORTANCE ROMANIA ATTACHES TO RELATIONS WITH U.S. AND HIS "PARTICULAR INTEREST" IN TALKS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER, "STRESSING THAT HIS NEW VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES WILL GIVE AN IMPULSE TO ROMANIAN-AMERICAN COL-LABORATION BOTH IN BILATERAL COOPERATION AND IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE." FINALLY, CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS WERE DISCUSSED, WITH STRESS ON "NEED TO CONSOLIDATE PEACE AND COLLABORATION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STATES THROUGH POLITICAL MEANS, TO REMOVE POINTS OF TENSION, TO ESTABLISH NEW AND EQUITABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES." TALK CONFIDENTIAL

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Message Attributes

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